

URGING MEMBER STATES OF THE UN TO STOP SUPPORTING
RESOLUTIONS THAT UNFAIRLY CASTIGATE ISRAEL AND TO
PROMOTE MORE CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACHES TO RESOLV-
ING CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST; THE EDUCATION CUR-
RICULUM IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA; HONORING
THE LIFE OF ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN; AND
THE 2005 PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS
IN EGYPT

MARKUP

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE MIDDLE EAST
AND CENTRAL ASIA

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED NINTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

**H. Res. 438, H. Con. Res. 275, H. Res. 535
and H. Con. Res. 284**

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URGING MEMBER STATES OF THE UN TO STOP SUPPORTING RESOLUTIONS THAT UNFAIRLY CASTIGATE ISRAEL AND TO PROMOTE MORE CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACHES TO RESOLVING CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST; THE EDUCATION CURRICULUM IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA; HONORING THE LIFE OF ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN; AND THE 2005 PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN EGYPT

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 2005

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE MIDDLE EAST
AND CENTRAL ASIA,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 5:32 p.m. in room 2200, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen [Chairwoman of the Subcommittee] presiding.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. The Subcommittee will come to order. We have several noncontroversial measures on the agenda, and it is the intention of the Chair to consider these measures en bloc and, by unanimous consent, order them favorably reported to the Full Committee, as amended.

Before we do so, I would like to recognize Congressman Fortenberry for a statement on one of the bills.

Mr. FORTENBERRY. Thank you, Madam Chair. This is in regard to House Resolution 284.

Madam Chair, first of all, let me take this opportunity to thank you for your tireless and courageous efforts to advance the noble institution of representative democracy. In Berlin, President John F. Kennedy said that "freedom has many difficulties, and democracy is not perfect, but we have never put up a wall to keep our people in and prevent them from leaving us."

None of us would deny the benefits of freedom and democracy or choose another path to justice for our Nation, yet I believe it is important to appropriately recognize the complexity of the cultural, historical, and philosophical foundations which form the critical infrastructure of our own Nation's unique model of self-determination. Egypt has also embarked on a complex journey to democracy, despite many internal and external challenges.

Just recently, I met with Dr. Ismael Serageldin, president of the Alexandria Library. He expressed the universal longing for freedom and self-determination with particular elegance in his essay called "The First Freedom." Dr. Serageldin writes that "without free speech, no search for truth is possible, no discovery of truth is useful, and no progress is possible. Freedom, as much as imagination

and boldness, is at the heart of the search for the truth and the attainment of knowledge. It is necessary to any viable system of self-government."

As we seek to encourage our friends in Egypt on their path to democracy, let us recall with an appropriate level of humility that our own democratic journey was neither quick nor easy. We would also do well to recall that Egypt has borne significant sacrifices for the cause of peace and freedom in the Middle East. President Saddat paid a very high price for Egypt's rapprochement with Israel. More recently, Ambassador Ilhab Al-Sharif paid with his life for daring to defy the foes of democracy in Iraq.

I do not wish to discount the significant progress that Egypt has made to date as we consider the concerns that motivate our discussion today. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Very well said, and I thank you, Mr. Fortenberry, for your contribution to our Subcommittee and to the Full Committee as well.

All Members are given leave to insert remarks on the measures into the record, should they choose to do so. Accordingly, without objection, the following resolutions will be ordered favorably reported to the Full Committee.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Reserving the right to object.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Yes, Mr. Ackerman. I apologize.

Mr. ACKERMAN. A good job on all of the resolutions. I withdraw my objection.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much. Thank you, Mr. Ackerman.

And the amendments to those measures which the Members have before them shall be deemed adopted: House Resolution 438, Urging member states of the United Nations to stop supporting resolutions that unfairly castigate Israel and to promote within the United Nations General Assembly more balanced and constructive approaches to resolving conflict in the Middle East, as amended; H. Con. Res. 275, Expressing the sense of Congress regarding the education curriculum in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia; House Resolution 535, Honoring the life, legacy, and example of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on the tenth anniversary of his death; and H. Con. Resolution 284, Expressing the sense of Congress with respect to the 2005 Presidential and parliamentary elections in Egypt, as amended.

[The resolutions and amendments referred to follow:]

109TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 438

Urging member states of the United Nations to stop supporting resolutions that unfairly castigate Israel and to promote within the United Nations General Assembly more balanced and constructive approaches to resolving conflict in the Middle East.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 14, 2005

Mr. ROTHMAN (for himself and Mr. KIRK) submitted the following resolution;
which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

RESOLUTION

Urging member states of the United Nations to stop supporting resolutions that unfairly castigate Israel and to promote within the United Nations General Assembly more balanced and constructive approaches to resolving conflict in the Middle East.

Whereas the 60th General Assembly of the United Nations will be held in New York City from September through December 2005;

Whereas the State of Israel is the number one strategic ally of the United States and the only true democracy in the Middle East;

Whereas 60 years ago the United Nations was founded to prevent another Holocaust from ever happening again;

Whereas 3 years after its founding, the United Nations passed General Assembly Resolution 181, which established the State of Israel as a homeland and refuge for Jews around the world;

Whereas in recent years, the United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council have engaged in a pattern of introducing and approving hundreds of measures and resolutions that unfairly criticize and condemn Israel;

Whereas despite the myriad of challenges facing the world community, the United Nations General Assembly has devoted a vastly disproportionate amount of time and resources to castigating Israel;

Whereas for the past 30 years, the United Nations has funded 3 entities that support anti-Israel propaganda, including the Division for Palestinian Rights (DPR), the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (CEIRPP), and the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Human Rights Practices Affecting the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories (SCIIHRP);

Whereas the double standard against the State of Israel that is perpetrated at the United Nations is pervasive: of 10 emergency special sessions called by the United Nations General Assembly, 6 have been about Israel, and since 1997, at the annual meetings of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, only Israel has had its own agenda item (Item 8) dealing with its alleged human rights violations, whereas all other countries are dealt with in a separate agenda item (Item 9);

Whereas the State of Israel is the only member nation of the United Nations that has consistently been denied full admission into its regional group, the Asian Regional Group, which is Israel's natural geopolitical grouping;

Whereas as a result of this denial, Israel sought entry into the United Nations' Western and Others Group (WEOG) and was only granted limited admission to that regional group in May 2000 for activities or meetings held in New York, but was not granted admission in any form to the activities or meetings of the WEOG held in Geneva, Nairobi, or Vienna;

Whereas during the 59th session of the United Nations General Assembly, the General Assembly adopted a total of 71 resolutions by roll call vote, 21 of which criticized Israel;

Whereas despite the fact that there are 191 member states in the United Nations—many of which have abhorrent human rights records, approximately 30 percent of the resolutions voted on annually by the United Nations General Assembly address the actions of one country, the State of Israel;

Whereas many member states of the United Nations General Assembly continue to engage in a discriminatory campaign against Israel, including adopting a resolution on December 1, 2004, that condemned Israeli security measures without proportional condemnation of Palestinian terrorist attacks launched against Israel;

Whereas as a founding member of the United Nations and as a constant and true partner for peace to both entities involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the United States has a special responsibility to promote fair and eq-

uitable treatment of all nations in the context of international institutions and to stop what it views to be counter-productive efforts that undermine the role of the United Nations as an honest broker for peace in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; and

Whereas the State of Israel's election to the Vice Presidency of the United Nations General Assembly presents member nations with an opportunity to reverse the body's pattern of unfairly castigating Israel: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved*, That the House of Representatives urges
2 member states of the United Nations to—

3 (1) stop supporting resolutions that unfairly
4 castigate Israel; and

5 (2) promote within the United Nations General
6 Assembly more balanced and constructive ap-
7 proaches to resolving conflict in the Middle East.

○

**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE
TO H. RES. 438
OFFERED BY MS. ROS-LEHTINEN**

Strike the preamble and insert the following:

Whereas the 60th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is currently underway in New York City;

Whereas the State of Israel is a critical strategic ally of the United States in the Middle East and the only true democracy in the region;

Whereas 60 years ago the United Nations was founded, in part, to prevent another Holocaust from ever happening again;

Whereas three years after its founding, the United Nations passed General Assembly Resolution 181, which provided for the partition of Mandatory Palestine and the establishment on its territory of an independent Jewish state, which became the State of Israel;

Whereas in recent years, the General Assembly of the United Nations has engaged in a pattern of approving resolutions that unfairly criticize and condemn Israel;

Whereas during the 59th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the General Assembly adopted 21 resolutions criticizing Israel;

Whereas despite the myriad of challenges facing the world community, the General Assembly of the United Nations has devoted a vastly disproportionate amount of time and resources to castigating Israel;

Whereas for the past 30 years, the United Nations has funded three entities that support anti-Israel propaganda, including the Division for Palestinian Rights, the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Human Rights Practices Affecting the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories;

Whereas the double standard against the State of Israel that is perpetrated at the United Nations is pervasive: of ten emergency special sessions called by the General Assembly of the United Nations, six have been about Israel, and since 1997, at the annual meetings of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, only Israel has had its own agenda item (Item 8) dealing with its alleged human rights violations, whereas all other countries are dealt with in a separate agenda item (Item 9); and

Whereas as a founding member of the United Nations, the United States has a special responsibility to promote fair and equitable treatment of all member states of the United Nations: Now, therefore be it

Strike all after the resolving clause and insert the following:

- 1 That the House of Representatives urges member states
- 2 of the United Nations to—
- 3 (1) stop supporting resolutions that unfairly
- 4 castigate Israel; and

- 1 (2) promote within the United Nations system
- 2 a more balanced and constructive approach to re-
- 3 solving conflict in the Middle East.

Amend the title so as to read: “Resolution urging member states of the United Nations to stop supporting resolutions that unfairly castigate Israel and to promote within the United Nations a more balanced and constructive approach to resolving conflict in the Middle East.”.

109TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. CON. RES. 275

Expressing the sense of Congress regarding the education curriculum in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OCTOBER 26, 2005

Mr. DAVIS of Florida (for himself, Mr. KING of New York, Ms. ROSELEHTINEN, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. WEXLER, Mr. DELAHUNT, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS of Virginia, Mr. MEEKS of New York, Mr. TANCREDO, Mr. CROWLEY, Ms. WATSON, Ms. BERKLEY, Mr. CHANDLER, Mr. SHAYS, Mr. SAXTON, Mrs. TAUSCHER, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Ms. HARMAN, Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania, Mr. ISRAEL, Mr. KIND, Mr. WAMP, Mrs. MALONEY, Mrs. MCCARTHY, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. CRAMER, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. SKELTON, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, Mr. NADLER, Mr. MARKEY, Mrs. LOWEY, Mr. BOYD, and Mr. McNULTY) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of Congress regarding the education curriculum in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Whereas the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, were carried out by 19 hijackers, including 15 Saudi Arabian nationals;

Whereas since September 11, 2001, multiple terrorist attacks have occurred inside the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia that were carried out by Saudi nationals;

Whereas Saudi nationals have joined the insurgency in Iraq, carrying out terrorist activities and providing financial support;

Whereas the Government of Saudi Arabia controls and regulates all forms of education in public and private schools at all levels;

Whereas Islamic religious education is compulsory in public and private schools at all levels in Saudi Arabia;

Whereas the religious curriculum is written, monitored, and taught by followers of the Wahhabi interpretation of Islam, the only religion the Government of Saudi Arabia allows to be taught;

Whereas rote memorization of religious texts continues to be a central feature of much of the educational system of Saudi Arabia, leaving thousands of students unprepared to function in the global economy of the 21st century;

Whereas the Government of Saudi Arabia has tolerated elements within its education system that promote and encourage extremism;

Whereas some textbooks in Saudi Arabian schools foster intolerance, ignorance, and anti-Semitic, anti-American, and anti-Western views;

Whereas these intolerant views instilled in students make them prime recruiting targets of terrorists and other extremist groups;

Whereas extremism endangers the stability of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Middle East region, and threatens global security;

Whereas the events of September 11, 2001, and the global rash of terrorist attacks since then, have created an ur-

gent need to promote moderate voices in the Islamic world as an effective way to combat extremism and terrorism;

Whereas the report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States stated that “Education that teaches tolerance, the dignity and value of each individual, and respect for different beliefs is a key element in any global strategy to eliminate Islamist terrorism”; and

Whereas the ascension of King Abdullah to the throne in August 2005 presents a new opportunity for education reform in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring), That the Congress—*

3 (1) urges the Government of Saudi Arabia to
4 reform its textbooks and education curriculum in a
5 manner that promotes tolerance and peaceful coex-
6 istence with others, develops civil society, and en-
7 courages functionality in the global economy;

8 (2) urges the President to direct the Secretary
9 of State to use existing public diplomacy channels,
10 international visitor exchanges, professional develop-
11 ment, and educational reform programs, including
12 those under the Middle East Partnership Initiative
13 and the Broader Middle East Initiative, to focus on
14 the issue of educational reform in Saudi Arabia in

1 accordance with the objectives enumerated in para-
2 graph (1);

3 (3) expresses extreme disappointment with the
4 slow pace of education reform in the Kingdom of
5 Saudi Arabia;

6 (4) urges the President to take into account
7 progress in meeting the goals outlined in paragraph
8 (1) when determining the level and frequency of
9 United States bilateral relations with the Govern-
10 ment of Saudi Arabia; and

11 (5) requests that the Secretary of State exam-
12 ine the educational system in Saudi Arabia, monitor
13 the progress of the efforts to reform the education
14 curriculum, and report on such progress, in classi-
15 fied form if necessary, to the appropriate congres-
16 sional committees.

○

109TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 535

Honoring the life, legacy, and example of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on the tenth anniversary of his death.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NOVEMBER 4, 2005

Mr. ENGEL (for himself, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. ACKERMAN, Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ, Mr. WAXMAN, and Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

RESOLUTION

Honoring the life, legacy, and example of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on the tenth anniversary of his death.

Whereas Yitzhak Rabin was born March 1, 1922, in Jerusalem;

Whereas Yitzhak Rabin volunteered for the Palmach, the elite unit of the Haganah (predecessor of the Israeli Defense Forces), and served for 27 years, including during the 1948 War of Independence, the 1956 Suez War, and as Chief of Staff in the June 1967 Six Day War;

Whereas in 1975, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin signed the interim agreement with Egypt (Sinai II) which laid the

groundwork for the 1979 Camp David Peace Treaty between Israel and Egypt;

Whereas Yitzhak Rabin served as Ambassador to the United States from 1968–1973, Minister of Defense from 1984–1990, and Prime Minister from 1974–1977 and from 1992 until his assassination in 1995;

Whereas on September 13, 1993, in Washington, D.C., Yitzhak Rabin signed the Declaration of Principles framework agreement between Israel and the Palestinians;

Whereas upon the signing of the Declaration of Principles, Yitzhak Rabin said to the Palestinian people: “We say to you today in a loud and clear voice: Enough of blood and tears. Enough! We harbor no hatred toward you. We have no desire for revenge. We, like you, are people who want to build a home, plant a tree, love, live side by side with you—in dignity, empathy, as human beings, as free men.”;

Whereas Yitzhak Rabin received the 1994 Nobel Prize for Peace for his vision and bravery as a peacemaker, saying at the time: “There is only one radical means of sanctifying human lives. Not armored plating, or tanks, or planes, or concrete fortifications. The one radical solution is peace.”;

Whereas on October 26, 1994, Yitzhak Rabin and King Hussein of Jordan signed a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan;

Whereas on November 4, 1995, Yitzhak Rabin was brutally assassinated after attending a peace rally in Tel Aviv where his last words were: “I have always believed that the majority of the people want peace, are prepared to

take risks for peace . . . Peace is what the Jewish People aspire to.”; and

Whereas Yitzhak Rabin dedicated his life to the cause of peace and security for the state of Israel by defending his nation against all threats, including terrorism and undertaking courageous risks in the pursuit of peace: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved*, That the House of Representatives—

2 (1) honors the historic role of Yitzhak Rabin
3 for his distinguished service to the Israeli people and
4 extends its deepest sympathy and condolences to the
5 family of Yitzhak Rabin and the people of Israel on
6 the tenth anniversary of his death;

7 (2) recognizes and reiterates its continued sup-
8 port for the close ties and special relationship be-
9 tween the United States and Israel;

10 (3) expresses its admiration for Yitzhak Rabin’s
11 legacy and reaffirms its commitment to the process
12 of building a just and lasting peace between Israel
13 and its neighbors;

14 (4) condemns any and all acts of terrorism; and

15 (5) reaffirms unequivocally the sacred principle
16 that democratic leaders and governments must be
17 changed only by the democratically-expressed will of
18 the people.

○

109TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. CON. RES. 284

Expressing the sense of Congress with respect to the 2005 presidential and parliamentary elections in Egypt.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OCTOBER 27, 2005

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN (for herself and Mr. ACKERMAN) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of Congress with respect to the 2005 presidential and parliamentary elections in Egypt.

Whereas promoting freedom and democracy is a foreign policy and national security priority of the United States;

Whereas free, fair, and transparent elections constitute a foundation of any meaningful democracy;

Whereas in his 2005 State of the Union Address, President George W. Bush stated that “the great and proud nation of Egypt, which showed the way toward peace in the Middle East, can now show the way toward democracy in the Middle East”;

Whereas in her June 20, 2005, remarks at the American University in Cairo, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice stated: “[T]he Egyptian Government must fulfill the

promise it has made to its people—and to the entire world—by giving its citizens the freedom to choose. Egypt’s elections, including the Parliamentary elections, must meet objective standards that define every free election.”;

Whereas on February 26, 2005, Egyptian President Mubarak proposed to amend the Egyptian Constitution to allow for Egypt’s first ever multi-candidate presidential election;

Whereas in May 2005, President Bush stated that Egypt’s presidential election should proceed with international monitors and with rules that allow for a real campaign;

Whereas Egypt prohibited international monitoring in the presidential election, calling such action an infringement on its national sovereignty;

Whereas domestic monitoring of the election became a major point of contention between the government, the judiciary, and civil society organizations;

Whereas in May 2005, the Judges Club, an unofficial union for judges, took the provisional decision to boycott the elections if their demand for a truly independent judiciary was not met;

Whereas the Judges Club initially insisted that the 13,000 judges were in no position to monitor the election if plans proceeded for polling at 54,000 stations on one day.

Whereas the government responded to their demands by grouping polling stations to decrease their number to about 10,000, more or less matching the number of available judges;

Whereas on September 2, 2005, a majority of the general assembly of the Judges Club decided that the judges would supervise the election and report any irregularities;

Whereas several coalitions of Egyptian civil society organizations demanded access to polling stations on election day and successfully secured court rulings granting them such access;

Whereas the Presidential Election Council, citing its constitutional authority to oversee the elections process, reportedly ignored the court order for several days, before they granted some nongovernmental organizations access to polling stations a few hours before the polls opened;

Whereas the presidential campaign ran from August 17 to September 4, 2005;

Whereas the presidential election held on September 7, 2005, was largely peaceful, but reportedly marred by low turnout, general confusion over election procedures, alleged manipulation by government authorities, and other inconsistencies;

Whereas the denial of full access by the Government of Egypt to domestic and international monitors undermines the legitimacy of Egypt's presidential and parliamentary elections;

Whereas parliamentary elections will be held in Egypt in three stages: on November 9, 2005, in eight provinces, including Cairo and its twin city of Giza, on November 20 in nine provinces, and on December 1 in nine other provinces;

Whereas it is in the national interests of the United States and Egypt that a truly representative, pluralist, and legitimate Egyptian parliament be elected; and

Whereas the Government of Egypt now has the opportunity to take necessary measures to ensure that the coming

legislative elections are free, fair, and transparent: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring)*, That Congress—

3 (1) recognizes the importance of the presi-
4 dential election held on September 7, 2005, as a
5 first step toward greater openness and political re-
6 forms in Egypt;

7 (2) expresses concern over the lack of inter-
8 national election monitoring and irregularities dur-
9 ing the Egyptian presidential election;

10 (3) recognizes that the development of a demo-
11 cratically-elected representative and empowered
12 Egyptian national parliament is the fundamental re-
13 form needed to permit real progress towards the rule
14 of law and democracy;

15 (4) calls on the Government of Egypt, during
16 the 2005 parliamentary elections, to—

17 (A) authorize the judiciary to supervise the
18 election process across the country and at all
19 levels;

20 (B) authorize the presence of accredited
21 representatives of all competing parties and
22 independent candidates at polling stations and
23 during the vote-counting; and

1 (C) allow local and international election
2 monitors full access and accreditation;

3 (5) calls on the Government of Egypt to sepa-
4 rate the apparatus of the National Democratic Party
5 from the operations of government, to divest all gov-
6 ernment holdings in Egyptian media, and to end the
7 government monopoly over printing and distribution
8 of newspapers; and

9 (6) calls on the Government of Egypt to repeal
10 the 1981 emergency law and in the development of
11 any future anti-terrorism legislation to allow peace-
12 ful, constitutional political activities, including public
13 meetings and demonstrations, and allow full par-
14 liamentary scrutiny of any such legislation.

○

**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE
TO H. CON. RES 284
OFFERED BY MS. ROS-LEHTINEN**

Strike the preamble and insert the following:

Whereas promoting freedom and democracy is a foreign policy and national security priority of the United States;

Whereas free, fair, and transparent elections constitute a foundation of any meaningful democracy;

Whereas Egypt is the largest Arab nation representing over half the Arab world's population;

Whereas Congress has long supported Egypt as a partner for peace and stands ready to support Egypt's emergence as a democracy and free market economy;

Whereas a successful democracy in Egypt would dispel the notion that democracy cannot succeed in the Muslim world;

Whereas in his 2005 State of the Union Address, President George W. Bush stated that "the great and proud nation of Egypt, which showed the way toward peace in the Middle East, can now show the way toward democracy in the Middle East";

Whereas in her June 20, 2005, remarks at the American University in Cairo, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice stated: "[T]he Egyptian Government must fulfill the promise it has made to its people—and to the entire world—by giving its citizens the freedom to choose. Egypt's elections, including the Parliamentary elections, must meet objective standards that define every free election.";

Whereas on February 26, 2005, Egyptian President Mubarak proposed to amend the Egyptian Constitution to allow for Egypt's first ever multi-candidate presidential election;

Whereas in May 2005, President Bush stated that Egypt's presidential election should proceed with international monitors and with rules that allow for a real campaign;

Whereas Egypt prohibited international monitoring in the presidential election, calling such action an infringement on its national sovereignty;

Whereas domestic monitoring of the election became a major point of contention between the government, the judiciary, and civil society organizations;

Whereas in May 2005, the Judges Club, an unofficial union for judges, took the provisional decision to boycott the elections if their demand for a truly independent judiciary was not met;

Whereas the Judges Club initially insisted that the 9,000 to 10,000 judges were in no position to monitor the election if plans proceeded for polling at 54,000 stations on one day.

Whereas the government responded to their demands by grouping polling stations to decrease their number to about 10,000, more or less matching the number of available judges;

Whereas on September 2, 2005, a majority of the general assembly of the Judges Club decided that the judges would supervise the election and report any irregularities;

Whereas several coalitions of Egyptian civil society organizations demanded access to polling stations on election day and successfully secured court rulings granting them such access;

Whereas the Presidential Election Council, citing its constitutional authority to oversee the elections process, reportedly ignored the court order for several days, before they granted some nongovernmental organizations access to polling stations a few hours before the polls opened;

Whereas the presidential campaign ran from August 17 to September 4, 2005;

Whereas the presidential election held on September 7, 2005, was largely peaceful, but reportedly marred by low turnout, general confusion over election procedures, alleged manipulation by government authorities, and other inconsistencies;

Whereas the denial of full access by the Government of Egypt to domestic and international monitors could undermine the legitimacy of Egypt's presidential and parliamentary elections;

Whereas parliamentary elections will be held in Egypt in three stages: on November 9, 2005, in eight provinces, including Cairo and its twin city of Giza, on November 20 in nine provinces, and on December 1 in nine other provinces;

Whereas it is in the national interests of the United States and Egypt that a truly representative, pluralist, and legitimate Egyptian parliament be elected; and

Whereas the Government of Egypt now has the opportunity to take necessary measures to ensure that the coming legislative elections are free, fair, and transparent: Now, therefore, be it

Strike all after the resolving clause and insert the following:

1 That Congress—

2 (1) recognizes the importance of the presi-
3 dential election held on September 7, 2005, as a
4 first step toward greater openness and political re-
5 forms in Egypt;

6 (2) expresses concern over the lack of inter-
7 national election monitoring and alleged irregular-
8 ities during the Egyptian presidential election;

9 (3) recognizes that the development of a demo-
10 cratically-elected representative and empowered
11 Egyptian national parliament is a fundamental re-
12 form needed to permit real progress towards the rule
13 of law and democracy;

14 (4) calls on the Government of Egypt, during
15 the 2005 parliamentary elections, to—

16 (A) ensure supervision by the judiciary of
17 the election process across the country and at
18 all levels;

19 (B) ensure the presence of accredited rep-
20 resentatives of all competing parties and inde-
21 pendent candidates at polling stations and dur-
22 ing the vote-counting; and

23 (C) allow local and international election
24 monitors full access and accreditation;

1 (5) calls on the Government of Egypt to sepa-
2 rate the apparatus of the National Democratic Party
3 from the operations of government, to divest all gov-
4 ernment holdings in Egyptian media, and to end the
5 government monopoly over printing and distribution
6 of newspapers; and

7 (6) calls on the Government of Egypt to repeal
8 the 1977 emergency law which took effect in 1981
9 and in the development of any future anti-terrorism
10 legislation to allow peaceful, constitutional political
11 activities, including public meetings and demonstra-
12 tions, and allow full parliamentary scrutiny of any
13 such legislation.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. So without objection, the staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments. I want to thank all of the Members of our Subcommittee for being here, and I would like to recognize Congressman Engel.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you. Thank you very much, Madam Chairwoman. I would like to thank both you and Ranking Member Ackerman for all of your help and assistance. I want to comment on two of the resolutions, if I might.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Absolutely.

Mr. ENGEL. One is the one that I have sponsored, which is H. Res. 535, honoring Yitzhak Rabin. As you know, November 5th marks the tenth anniversary of the brutal assassination of Prime Minister Rabin, who was a warrior-turned-peacemaker. In a recent national poll, Israelis rank Rabin's assassination as the third most formative event in the nation's history after the 1967 and 1973 wars. Obviously, his impact in life was tremendous, and his loss to the world is incalculable. Importantly, however, this legislation highlights the legacy of the man. The Hebrew word used for the anniversary of a death is "yizkah," which simply means remember, and while mourning his loss, we must also celebrate his life.

I have a rather lengthy statement which I would like to ask permission to place into the record.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. You are free to read it as well, Congressman, whatever you would like.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you. Mr. Rabin dedicated his life to the cause of peace and security for the State of Israel by defending his nation against all threats, including terrorism, and undertaking courageous risks in the pursuit of peace. By adopting this resolution, as we do, Congress will honor his life, legacy, and example of the Israeli prime minister on the tenth anniversary of his death.

This resolution expresses our admiration for Yitzhak Rabin's legacy and recognizes his historic service to the Israeli people while extending our deepest sympathy and condolences to his family and to the people of Israel. It also reiterates our continued support for the close ties and special relationship between the United States and Israel and reaffirms our commitment to the process of building a just and lasting peace between Israel and its neighbors. We also condemn any and all acts of terrorism and reaffirm unequivocally the sacred principle that democratic leaders and governments must be changed only by the democratically expressed will of the people.

Rabin, I might point out, was the first sabra, native-born Israeli, to become prime minister. He was born in Jerusalem and later volunteered for the Palmach, the elite unit of the Hagandah, which was the predecessor of the Israeli defense forces, and served for 27 years, including during the 1948 War of Independence, the 1956 Suez War, and as chief of staff in the June 1967 Six-Day War, which many of us remember. In 1975, Prime Minister Rabin signed the interim agreement with Egypt, known as Sinai II, which laid the groundwork for the 1979 Camp David peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. He also served as Ambassador to the United States from 1967 to 1973, minister of defense from 1984 to 1990, and prime minister from 1974 to 1977 and from 1992 until his assassination in 1995.

On September 13, 1993, in Washington, DC, Yitzhak Rabin signed the declaration of principle framework agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. I remember that day very well, Madam Chair, because I was there. We were there. It was 95-degree weather, and my wife was in her eighth month of pregnancy. We remember being there, and upon signing, Rabin said to the Palestinian people, and I quote:

“We say to you today in a loud and clear voice, enough of blood and tears, enough. We harbor no hatred toward you. We have no desire for revenge. We, like you, are people who want to build a home, plant a tree, love, live, side by side with you, in dignity and empathy as human beings, as free men.”

He received the 1994 Nobel Prize for Peace for his vision and bravery as a peacemaker. The following year, Rabin and King Hussein of Jordan signed a peace treaty between their countries. Then, on November 4, 1995, Yitzhak Rabin was brutally assassinated after attending a peace rally in Tel Aviv where his last words were:

“I have always believed that the majority of the people want peace, are prepared to take risks for peace. Peace is what the Jewish people aspire to.”

Madam Chair, 10 years ago, Israel and the world lost a leader of vision and strength. Former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin epitomized the essence of the State of Israel, fierce in his defense of his homeland but always willing to go the extra mile for peace. As we remember him on the tenth anniversary of his death, let us express the hope that Israel and its neighbors will someday experience the peace that Rabin worked so hard to achieve.

I am delighted that my colleagues all support my resolution, H. Res. 535, and I again thank you and Mr. Ackerman for your strong support. And I am wondering if I can just briefly——

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Of course.

Mr. ENGEL [continuing]. Comment on the other resolution, which is H. Res. 438 that Mr. Rothman has put in, urging member states of the UN to stop supporting resolutions that unfairly castigate Israel and to promote within the United Nations General Assembly more balanced and constructive approaches to resolving conflict in the Middle East.

This is something that I have been working on for many, many years, and I do not miss a chance to talk to any Ambassador who visits my office about this. Forty percent of all of the resolutions of the United Nations are either condemning Israel or have something to do with Israel. It is an obsession and unfair. It is a disgrace that so many members of the UN vote to support resolutions that unfairly castigate Israel and it ought to be more balanced than it is.

There are also several funding mechanisms. At a time when we are criticizing the UN for wasteful spending, there are various committees that exist solely for the castigating of Israel, and in no other controversy are there these kinds of committees. There is one for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. To me, they are just committees that promote hatred and have no effect except to make the UN one-sided and ineffectual, and, frankly, those com-

mittees which are funded with taxpayers' money and U.S. taxpayers' money ought to be abolished.

So I would ask unanimous consent to submit some of my other remarks into the record,——

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Without objection.

Mr. ENGEL [continuing]. And I thank you very much for your indulgence.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Engel. You know, those committees that you had discussed were part of the Chairman's UN Reform Act, to do away with those. We hope that 1 day we will get that bill through.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I would like to thank Congressman Issa for his valuable contributions on the Egypt resolution. It is always a delight to work with you. Thank you, Darrell.

Anyone else seeking recognition? Yes. Go right ahead.

Mr. ISSA. Madam Chair, I would ask that my entire statement be placed in the record.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Yes, without objection.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Issa follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE DARRELL ISSA, A REPRESENTATIVE IN
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Madam Chairwoman, last Spring, Egypt made an important step towards democracy when Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak announced his support for a Constitutional amendment providing for multi-candidate direct elections for President. This important reform was implemented, a vibrant campaign for President took place, and Egypt took its greatest single step toward democracy forward.

While there were significant shortcomings that fell short of recognized international standards in both the process leading up to the vote for President and the vote itself, this election nonetheless was a great moment for Egypt.

Egypt has, however, completed this chapter in its road toward full democracy and is already in the midst of its next chapter on the way toward democratic and competitive elections.

Egypt is a friend of the United States and has played an indispensable role in promoting peace and stability for nearly three decades.

I consider myself a friend of Egypt and while I believe Egypt deserves praise and recognition for the steps toward democracy it has made, I must also, as a friend, express some disappointment and concern about missed opportunities.

Specifically, I was disappointed to see that more was not done to ensure that domestic election monitoring officials would be granted full access to polling and counting stations. I have also been disappointed to learn about the continued severe limitations placed on respected international election monitoring organizations to gain accreditation and reasonable access to polling and counting sites.

I have to note that during the 2004 election campaign here in the United States, the OSCE was granted an invitation by the United States to monitor elections.

This resolution focuses Congress' attention on a number of different aspects of the electoral process in Egypt. While most of these areas have seen some degree of improvement since the Presidential election, I believe that much more can be done.

In closing, I stand ready to support Egypt as it moves toward truly competitive democratic elections. This movement is rarely easy, and I will be among the first to congratulate Egypt on its successes and will continue to advocate for making sure Congress continues to support Egypt as a friend and ally.

Mr. ISSA. I will just read the opening paragraph in a very short statement.

Madam Chairwoman, last spring, Egypt made an important step toward democracy when Egyptian President Hasmeh Mubarak announced his support for a constitutional amendment providing for multicandidate, direct elections for President. This important re-

form was implemented. A vibrant campaign for President took place, and I had the privilege of witnessing President Mubarak actually campaigning in a very Western style, and this was a great step toward democracy.

We are here dealing with a resolution today because other steps that could have been taken, that should have been taken, were not taken. This is not intended to diminish the fact that there were steps taken. I believe that, as President Mubarak comes to the twilight of his time as President, he is not thinking about transitioning in an orderly and democratic fashion. But, Madam Chairwoman, I support your resolution because we need to send a strong message that we stand by Egypt in its emergence as a democracy, but we stand there saying we are disappointed, that more could have been done, and that we stand ready to assist Egypt in seeing that it will do more if it has the will to, and with that, I yield back.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much, Congressman Issa.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Chair, just very quickly, I want to thank you for your work on these resolutions, and they really do make a difference. When you and I worked together on a resolution earlier on Egypt, protesting the arrest of Iman Nour, it got an immediate reaction from the Egyptian Government. I think this is the one Committee where the mere introduction of a bill has a demonstrable impact, not even the passage necessarily, and I think it is very important that we get the message to Egypt that it is in Egypt's interest, and we are watching very carefully to see how the parliamentary elections go.

I would love to work with you on a similar measure vis-a-vis Azerbaijan, which just had some very problematic elections, and I also want to thank Mr. Rothman for his work on the resolution urging that the UN stop, basically, becoming a bastion for anti-Israel resolutions. Thank you again, Madam Chair, for all of your work.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I thank all of the Members for coming today and for your participation, and without objection, the staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments, and they will soon be before our International Relations Full Committee, and with that, the Subcommittee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 5:46 p.m., the Subcommittee was adjourned.]

